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INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EAID, PFOR, SF, MZ, US, WZ

SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM'S MEETING WITH

MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SUMMARY: ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM MET WITH MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MATSEBULA NOVEMBER 19, FOR TWO-HOUR DISCUSSION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, INCLUDING NAMIBIA, HOMELANDS AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, MOZAMBIQUE, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND KOREAN AND CAMBODIAN ISSUES AT U.S. REPORT OF DISCUSSION OF UN ISSUES BEING SENT SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

- 1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM MET WITH SWAZI MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS MHLANGANO STEPHEN MATSEBULA FOR TWO-HOUR MEETING NOVEMBER 19. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF MAIN ISSUES DISCUSSED.
- 2. NAMIBIA. EASUM REVIEWED CONVERSATION HE HAD WITH SAG PRIME MINISTER VORSTER CONCERNING NAMIBIA, OUTLINING VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES THAT VORSTER HAD MENTIONED. INCLUDING CONCEPT OF SEPARATE OVAMBO INDEPENDENCE WITH FEDERATION OF REMAINING PEOPLE AND TRIBES IN COUNTRY, EASUM SOLICTED GOS VIEWS ON SUBJECT. MATSEBULA REPLIED THAT GOS SUPPORTED OAU STANCE THAT NAMIBIA IS ONE COUNTRY AND SHOULD ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE AS UNITARY STATE. QUESTION OF SEPARATE OVAMBO INDEPENDENCE AND POSSIBLE FEDERATION OF REMAINING AREAS IS NEW ONE INTRO-DUCED BY SAG FOR PURPOSES, IN GOS VIEW, OF "DIVIDE AND RULE" AND MAINTAINING WHITE SUPREMACY. GOS VIEW IS THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ABIDE BY ICJ DECISION DECLARING SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPANCY OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA ILLEGAL AND SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM COUNTRY. IN RESPONSE EASUM'S OUESTION AS TO HOW THIS MIGHT BE DONE PROCEDURALLY, MATSEBULA REPLIED THAT U.S. HAD ESTABLISHED A BODY TO ASSIST IN THE TRANSITION AND THAT THERE WERE, MOREOVER, POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN NAMIBIA WHICH COULD TAKE OVER THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT. IN RESPONSE EASUM'S QUESTION WHETHER GOS BELIEVED OAU WOULD OPPOSE SEPARATE OVAMBO INDEPENDENCE IF PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY THEMSELVES OPTED FOR IT. MATSEBULA REITERATED THAT IN GOS VIEW NAMIBIA SHOULD BECOME INDEPENDENT AS UNITARY STATE AND THAT INTRODUCTION OF CONCEPT OF SEPARATE INDEPENDENCE WAS SAG SUBTERFUGE TO MAINTAIN SUPREMACY IN REMAINING AREAS OF COUNTRY, HE SUGGESTED THAT PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA THEMSELVES WOULD PREFER ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE AS UNITARY STATE.
- 3. HOMELANDS. EASUM REVIEWED CONVERSATIONS HE HAD HAD WITH VARIOUS REPRESENTATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ON HOMELANDS QUESTION. EASUM RAISED QUESTION WHETHER IT WAS POSSIBLE TO SEPARATE POLICIES OF APARTHEID AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. EASUM SUGGESTED HYPOTHETICAL MODEL OF HOMELANDS ACHIEVING MEANINGFUL INDEPENDENCE WHILE, AT SAME CONFIDENTIAL

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TIME, SAG REMOVED PETTY APARTHEID, AND PROVIDED OWNERSHIP RIGHTS AND FREE MOVEMENT, AS WELL AS INCREASED POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR BLACKS WHO OPTED TO REMAIN ON IN WHITE AREAS. MATSEBULA REPLIED THAT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT CANNOT RPT NOT BE SEPARATED FROM APARTHEID. MATSEBULA SAID HE BELIEVED CONCEPT OF RACIAL SUPERIORITY WAS SO INGRAINED IN AFRIKANER CULTURE, INCLUDING RELIGION, THAT IT WAS IDENTIFIED IN SOUTH AFRICAN MINDS WITH "WESTERN CIVILIZATION". MATSEBULA GAVE SHORT SUMMARY OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTROY, POINTING OUT THAT CONCEPT WHICH UNDERLIES APARTHEID WENT

BACK AS FAR AS THE GREAT TREB WHEN THE BOERS LEFT THE CAPE RATHER THAN ACCEPT THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. APARTHEID, SAID MATSEBULA, IS WAY OF LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IS ONLY ANOTHER NAME FOR IT. TO ACCEPT HOMELANDS CONCEPT IS TO ACCEPT AFRIKANER VIEW OF AN INEQUALITY OF PEOPLES. WHAT IS NEEDED IS SOUTH AFRICAN "CHANGE OF HEART," BUT MINISTER OF STATE SAID HE SAW NOT REPT NO EVIDENCE OF THIS TO DATE AND THAT HE WAS NOT RPT NOT IMPRESSED BY RECENT SPEECHES BY PIK BOTHA AT U.N. OR PM VORSTER AT NIGEL.

4. IMPROVING RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA. EASUM ASKED WHAT SPECIFIC STEPS COULD BE TAKEN AT THIS TIME TO ATTEMPT BREAKTHROUGH FEELING OF RACIAL SUPERIORITY WHICH MATSEBULA HAD DESCRIBED AND TO IMPROVE SITUATION FOR PEOPLES IN SOUTH AFRICA PRESENTLY DEPRIVED OF THEIR RIGHTS. MATSEBULA REPLIED HIS VIEW WAS THAT ONE MUST START WITH CONCEPT THAT AFRICA IS BLACK AND THAT MAJORITY RULE SHOULD PREVAIL. SWAZILAND IS NON-RACIALY SOCIETY WITH MANY WHITES. SOUTH AFRICA MUST SOONER OR LATER COME TO SIMILAR VIEW, BUT MATSEBULA TOOK PESSIMISTIC OUTLOOK, FEARING THAT REAL CHANGE OF HEART WAS UNLIKELY AND THAT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA, SUCH AS THAT WHICH TOOK PLACE IN LISBON, COULD NOT RPT NOT TAKE PLACE SINCE SITUATIONS WERE DIFFERENT AND SINCE CONCEPT OF RACIAL SUPERIORITY AND SEPARATION OF RACES IS SO DEEPLY INGRAINED IN SOUTH AFRICAN MIND. PERMANENT SECRETARY FOREIGN AFFAIRS MBONI DLAMINI OFFERED AS PERSONAL SUGGESTION FOR POSSIBLE NEXT STEP THAT CALLING OF A CONFERENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA TO BE ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF PEOPLE OF ALL COLORS AND SHADES OF POLITICAL OPINION. IF SOUTH AFRICA IS SERIOUS ABOUT CHANGE, IT MUST FIRST START A DIALOGUE WITH ITS OWN PEOPLE, SOMETHING TO DATE WHICH IT HAS NOT DONE. DLAMINI ADDED AS CONFIDENTIAL. CONFIDENTIAL

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ANOTHER POSSIBLE STEP THE REMOVAL OF RESTRICTIONS, SUCH AS THOSE EMOBIDED IN PETTY APARTHEID, WHICH PROHIBITED DIFFERENT RACES FROM MEETING AND DISCUSSING INFORMALLY. ATTITUDES CAN BE CHANGED OVER A CUP OF COFFEE, SAID DLAMINI, BUT SUCH INNOCENT MEETINGS CAN BE ILLEGAL UNDER PRESENT LAW IN SOUTH AFRICA. DLAMINI ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE WILLING TO TALK TO GENUINE LEADERS WHO REPRESENT THEIR PEOPLE, INCLUDING SOME PERSONS PRESENTLY DETAINED, SUCH AS NELSON MANDELA.

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5. MOZAMBIQUE. EASUM INQUIRED ABOUT GOS VIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. MATSEBULA REPLIED THAT FACT THAT FRELIMO HAS FOUGHT TEN YEARS IN BUSH AND HAS NOW SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING DIRECT POLITICAL RULE COULD NOT FAIL TO BE AN INSPIRATION TO OTHER LIBERATION GROUPS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. MATSEBULA SAID GOS WELCOMED DEVELOPMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND THAT FRELIMO WERE FRIENDS OF SWAZILAND AND WELL-KNOWN TO THEM FOR YEARS. WHEN HE MEETS SAMORA MACHEL, SAID MATSEBULA, THEY SPEAK IN SISWATI. MOZAMBIQUE WAS VITAL TO SWAZILAND IN MANY WAYS BEYOND THE OBVIOUS ONES OF CONFIDENTIAL

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RAIL LINE AND PORT FACILITIES.

6. USG INVESTMENT IN BANTUSTANS AND BLS COUNTRIES. IN

RESPONSE TO QUESTION OF EASUM AS TO WHAT ROLE U.S. COULD USEFULLY PLAY IN AREA, PERMSEC DLAMINI REPLIED THAT HE BELIEVED IN SOUTH AFRICA U.S. BUSINESSES COULD PLAY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT OF HOMELAND AREAS BY PRIVATE INVESTMENT. DLAMINI ALSO ENCOURAGED USG INVESTMENT IN BLS STATES, BOTH TO HELP DEVELOP THEIR INTERNAL ECONOMIES AND ALSO TO SERVE TO DEMONSTRATE SUCCESS AND VIABILITY OF MAJORITY RULED STATES IN AREA. MATSEBULA ADDED THAT HE BELIEVED THAT SWAZILAND, IN SMALL WASY. ALREADY ACHIEVED SOME OF THIS LATTER EFFECT THROUGH POWER OF EXAMPLE WHICH IS DEMONSTRATED TO NUMEROUS SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISTS WHO COME TO SWAZILAND. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION BY AMBASSADOR BOLEN, MATSEBUL REPLIED THAT SWAZILAND WOULD WELCOME U.S. TRADE MISSIONS TO SWAZILAND WHICH INCLUDED PARTICIPATION BY SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN. SWAZILAND PURSUED A MODERATE POLICY AND "SPOKE WITH A QUIET VOICE", IN WORKING FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE.

7. MATSEBULA CLOSED MEETING WITH STATEMENT OF WARM APPRECIATION OF EASUM VISIT AND USG ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT FOR SWAZILAND.
BOLEN

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